

# The Citizen

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# The Citizen

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## Life and Education.

In our last issue we spoke warmly about the gift of President Seth Low to Columbia, and especially of the wisdom of so giving as to increase the usefulness of an established college of good repute, rather than to create a new seat of learning inadequately endowed, that an individual may be exalted or a name perpetuated. The gift by Provost Charles C. Harrison of half a million dollars to the University of Pennsylvania, follows so closely upon that of Mr. Low to Columbia as to indicate that both of these gentlemen must at the same time have been making up their minds to do similar things. Each attaches the name of his father to the endowment created.

To inherit wealth and opportunity, and to make such a use of these advantages as to command to an unusual degree the respect of the community should certainly entitle a man to enoble his ancestors. To be able to establish a perpetual fund for the advancement of learning, and to make it an example of loving and grateful recognition rather than an instance of personal vanity is unquestionably a very high privilege in the use of which there should be abundant satisfaction for the giver.

The discussion of the silver question involves so many of the subtle and disputed theories of political economy that the real point at issue is easily obscured or forgotten. Does the value of money vary with the quantity in circulation, or does its value depend mainly on the cost of production? What effect upon the value of money has the use of credit instruments? Has there been any real appreciation of gold during the last twenty years, or is the apparent appreciation due to the lessened cost of general production? These are all important questions, and they must be answered correctly before a scientific and satisfactory solution of the money problem is possible.

But the practical question which at present vitally concerns the American people, is this: Will the unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1 in the United States cause such an increased demand for silver that 371 $\frac{1}{2}$  grains of silver will buy as much in the world's market as 23.22 grains of gold? In other words, will the silver dollar possess as great intrinsic or metal value as the gold dollar?

Unless the friends of silver can make it clear beyond a reasonable doubt that that question can be answered in the affirmative, they are asking the American people to enter upon a road that leads to national dishonor and bankruptcy.

Granting that the bimetallist's theory of money is correct, namely, that the value of the precious metals arises from their use as

money as much as from their use in the arts, or even more from the former than from the latter use, what is the reason for believing that the free coinage of silver in this country will so increase the demand for it that an ounce will rise in value to \$1.29? In other words, why should the silver in a silver dollar, now worth only half as much as the gold in a gold dollar, more than double in purchasing power?

The money in this country now includes about \$627,000,000 in gold, \$650,000,000 in silver, \$346,000,000 in greenbacks, and \$207,000,000 in National bank notes, making a total of about \$1,800,000,000. If the greenbacks and bank notes are to be left undisturbed, it is evident that an addition of only \$627,000,000 in silver money must either drive all the gold out of circulation or, what amounts to the same thing, raise prices above the present level, for according to the bimetallist's theory prices must rise if, other things being unchanged, the volume of money is increased. The demand for silver resultant upon free coinage cannot exceed \$627,000,000 without inflation, that is to say, without cheapening the dollar. That is a conclusion to which the advocates of free coinage are driven by the very logic which in the first instance makes their theory seem plausible. So the question simply is: Will a demand in the world's market for 480,000,000 ounces of silver raise the price from 66 cents to \$1.29 an ounce? The world is producing silver at the rate of nearly 200,000,000 ounces per annum, and as many mines are now idle because of the low price of silver bullion, it is pretty certain that any increase in the value of silver would considerably augment the annual out-put. The total amount of silver in the world available for monetary purposes is estimated to be worth about 8000 million dollars at \$1.29 per ounce. The actual market value of this mass is now only 4000 millions. Is it possible that a single nation by offering to purchase one-thirteenth of this total stock, a quantity that can even now be profitably mined in a little over two years, will make a permanent addition of 100 per cent to the value of the whole?

This is a question which the silverites must not ignore if they wish to prove themselves

friends of honest money and commercial honesty. The fact that they do ignore it in their discussions may be regarded as evidence that they fear it and that their motives in the advocacy of silver are not, as they boast, patriotic and philanthropic, but political and mercenary, or that they do not understand the issue which they have precipitated.

A close examination of any department of the government of Philadelphia is almost sure to reward the investigator. It may be of interest to those who concern themselves with municipal affairs to know that while the average of gas made and unaccounted for, *i.e.*, leakage, in other cities is about 8 per cent, in Philadelphia it is nearly three times that amount. The reports of the Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners of Massachusetts show that, in the case of the Boston Gas Light Company, the gas made and unaccounted for in 1892 was 1.64 per cent; 1893, 2.05 per cent; 1894, 1.60 per cent. The reports of the Philadelphia Bureau of Gas show the gas made and unaccounted for in 1891 to have been 12.08 per cent; 1892, 13.66; 1893, 14.63; 1894, 21.49 per cent. The average leakage for the Boston Gas Light Company from 1892 to 1894, inclusive, was 1.76 per cent; for Philadelphia in the same period the average leakage was 16.59 per cent. The leakage for 1894, in Philadelphia, was 1,003,856,929 cubic feet, worth at \$1.00 per 1000 cubic feet, \$1,003,856. If the Philadelphia practice were as good as that of the Boston Gas Light Company in the same year, our gas unaccounted for in 1894 would have amounted to only 74,680,832 cubic feet, worth at \$1.00 per 1000 cubic feet, \$74,680. Bad practice, together with other disadvantages for economical distribution, the most important of which is perhaps undersized mains, has resulted apparently in an unnecessary loss of \$928,376. Although it has been supposed that the leakage account was swelled by not charging the city lamps with all the gas burned, the facts as reported seem against this supposition, and the figures given, after all allowances are made, will convince most people that the management of our gas works, by the showing of the reports of the Bureau, is abominably bad;

and there is no escape from the conclusion that it is growing rapidly worse, as the percentage of lost gas increases from year to year. As to the quality of the product furnished, and the capacity of the gas management to make each householder's bill as large with gas at \$1 per 1000 cubic feet as when at \$1.50, we need only appeal to individual experience. We are also obliged to say that the candle power of the Boston gas is considerably higher than that of the Philadelphia article, while the price is the same. The Boston company regularly declares 10 per cent dividends. Philadelphia in 1894 barely escaped a deficit. It has been suggested that the price of gas was reduced in Philadelphia that the city might not suffer so great a loss in the leakage—as the poor man was said not to have been benefited when our car fares were reduced from seven to five cents, because with the higher fare he saved seven cents when he walked instead of five cents. The argument may be made that the Philadelphia gas plant is so old fashioned and faulty in construction that nothing better can be expected. To which it is easy to answer that private gas companies manage to keep their plants up to date without remitting dividends. The same demands made as to the qualifications of employes, and the same care in management would have given like results in Philadelphia. This, we believe, is what is meant by a good civil service. It is management of the kind that succeeds in private business.

Our knowledge of hygiene<sup>1</sup> has not progressed so far that we are able to say with precision just what the effect upon the public health has been of introducing into our atmosphere 1,003,856,929 cubic feet of illuminating gas. This is an interesting field of inquiry which demands the attention of the Women's Health Protective Association. There are certain neighborhoods where people, having the sense of smell, are not obliged to gauge the gas leakage by that sixth sense called the pocket, but we doubt if there is any general appreciation of the contribution to our atmosphere made by the Philadelphia gas works. At the present rate of progress in the matter of leakage, the time may come when it will be dangerous to light a match in the streets. A

mixture in proper proportions of atmospheric air and illuminating gas explodes with violence.

The power to distinguish social realities from the illusions which masquerade as such is the key to social progress. The Family, the Nation and the Church are unquestionably social realities of the most real and permanent kind. Each clothes itself in the imagination with a real personality, and claims of its members their passionate affection, their unswerving loyalty, the ready sacrifice of possessions, of all ties less sacred than its own, of personal powers, and, in the last extremity, of individual life. The inter-relation of these three social institutions is beautifully harmonious, and their conflicting claims may always be reconciled. Mr. Hale's address on Social Ideas and Social Realities, which we publish in this issue, does justice to these magnificent social conceptions, and nobly stirs enthusiasm for their more adequate recognition. If all men would accept these three relationships; if they would but accept any one of them faithfully, there would follow a social regeneration which would far surpass that which has accompanied any religious awakening or political revolution. But it is perhaps too much for us to expect that men will readily embrace realities so complete, ideals so near the ultimate goal of social progress.

Meantime the civic leader and teacher will look more closely at the minor social institutions which in comparison with the greater realities may be termed mere convenient ideas, but which nevertheless are found to have a reality of their own, a personality by no means to be despised, a social influence comparable with that of Nation or Church, and which are with hundreds of citizens, the only influence of any sort that makes for social progress. The Labor-Union, the Co-operative Society, the club, whether formally organized with a club house and billiard room or quite informally organizing itself in saloon or country store, the political party in its ward and precinct organizations, the religious sect, and the relations which spring from religious association or antipathy—all these social institutions are realities, of a lower order

perhaps, but for that very reason indispensable links in the chain of social relationships which bind human beings to parent and offspring, to fellow workmen and neighbors, to those of common interests and locality, and finally, to those of common race, language and religious faith.

We must realize that we are nearer the beginning of our social development than is ordinarily assumed. Men do not recognize their relationships in State and Church because they are but just beginning to recognize that they have any relations whatever. Civic instincts grow slowly in all soils and climates, even in ours; and social instincts must precede them. It is inevitable that laborers should first act together in their economic relations. Social groups which seem in their spirit antagonistic to social order are probably a preliminary condition of those larger groups upon which social order rests. Until men are actuated by common impulses of some sort, until they have learned to follow a common leader, to respond to a common rallying cry for the advancement of a common interest, they are but sorry materials for either a civic Church or a great Nation. The capitalist who led the way in an important step of economic progress a century ago was socially despised and was often a despicable character. The walking delegate who incurs in these days a vast amount of odium, frequently deserved, may be the forerunner of the social leader who will accomplish much for the social progress which lies immediately ahead. Politically, the referendum and other proposed forms of direct legislation may prove an encouragement to concerted action and give added meaning to social institutions which seem insignificant only because they have not had adequate political expression. It is easy under the spur of some impending national calamity, or under the personal influence of a great religious prophet to rise to noble sacrifice for Nation and Church. But mankind is not constantly subject to such influences and a substitute must be found in other motives which are continually present, which have at least an appearance of reality, and which are intelligible to the great body of plain people. The institutions which spring

naturally into existence to satisfy these needs, and to fit men for higher relationship are not only convenient ideas; they are helpful, God-given realities. It is a part of the divine order that these social realities should have a large place in human development. Even before the Church, that fundamental reality, comes the brotherhood which rests not upon a consciousness of a common Creator but upon a consciousness of common social experiences. If there had been no revelation, the conception of Christ would have come into the world even before that of God. He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love his Father whom he hath not seen?

While University Extension seeks to further adult education in all departments of learning, it finds a specially fruitful field of labor in civics. There has been of late a general awakening to the fact that local government presents many knotty problems which cannot be solved by voting political favorites into municipal office, and accompanying this conviction is a growing demand for intelligent instruction in these problems, in the nature of the difficulties which stand in the way of good government, and in the practical solution of these difficulties. Men and women are prepared to heed the counsels of properly authenticated scholars whose office it is to expound civic problems unbiased by prejudice and partisanship. The study of civics is something more than the acquisition of learning; it is an examination into efficient methods for administering to imperative needs. In recognition of this principle the American Society has labored successfully to bring to its Summer Meeting men whose gifts and education best qualify them to speak with authority on the various questions of political science. This program, however, is not a new departure; it is rather the continuation of a work which the society has been doing for a year by means of the studies of Dr. Albert A. Bird, whom it has delegated to make a special examination into the municipal conditions of Philadelphia. We believe that when Dr. Bird publishes the results of his research he will be able to make a genuine contribution to our knowledge of a representative American city.

### Social Ideas and Social Realities in America.\*

I must not fail to express articulately what our applause has already given Mr. Shaw assurance of,—the profound interest of his disclosures, and the altogether inspiring force of his plea for our interest in English social affairs. Following such an address, I cannot begin my own as I had intended. With you, I am under the spell of my friend's enthusiasm. As he has told us of the social ferment abroad, we have seen the vision of a world-change passing. We must all, I think, be profoundly realizing to-night the critical character of the times we have fallen upon. The civilizations of men are full of perplexity, bewilderment, wonder, and change. "The end of the century" is a phrase whose unaccustomed accents the world is beginning again to hear, and hears with a pathetic expectancy. There is upon men's souls the sense of some vast and unexampled event toward which the creation has long been making its way. As we near the century's end, its history gathers itself up, and reveals its meaning, and we are startled as, sweeping the panorama of the fields upon which its battles have been fought, and over which its marches have been made, we perceive what mighty and amazing things the spirit of social change has wrought, and for what mightier ones it is preparing us. And for us to whom all this is likely to seem a maze and a puzzle, I know no assurance that it is aught else, no assurance that there is in human history any meaning or purpose, except in the faith that there is above it all One who determines the events of war, the returns of peace and the issues of human counsels,—nay, not One above it, but One who, dwelling in the very midst of human society, is forever assuring it that the law of its existence is none other than the law of His own; is forever seeking to fashion it into a kingdom obedient to that law.

And so it is a fundamental principle of my thought in regard to social change that the work of the men for whom the expectant peoples are waiting to guide them into the New Democracy should be, not the discovery or the creation of a new social order, not the proclamation of a new law of human relations, but the discovery and interpretation to these days of the eternal social order, the proclamation of the world-old and divine law of society.

\* On the evening of April 10, 1895, Rev. W. Hudson Shaw and Rev. Wm. Bayard Hale addressed a large audience composed of members of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching and delegates from the centres in and near Philadelphia. Mr. Shaw spoke on The Social Ferment in England. Mr. Hale's address is here given from a shorthand report revised by the speaker.

Indeed, not waiting to be taught it, men are awakening to a perception of that order. We are seeing, with a vision clarified by centuries of experience and suffering, that the law of life is sacrifice. We perceive that men can live on earth only in relationships; that every relationship is a voluntary self-limitation,—a sacrifice. Society is organized sacrifice. The world is putting aside forever the notion that the Individual is the social unit. He does not exist; society does not know him; he has no right to be, except in so far as he forgets himself. And then, when the idea of the Individual has been given up for the sake of the higher conception of Society,—lo! it finds itself again as a reality within Society. The sublime paradox upon which the whole structure of Society rests bids the Individual gain himself by giving himself; come into the possession of himself by surrendering himself. The calm words of the greatest of social economists are being accepted seriously. Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone. He who would save his life, shall lose it, but he who will lose his life for the sake of Society, shall find it. He who giveth his life to a son shall receive it as a Father; he who loseth his life in his country shall find his life as a Citizen; he who layeth down his life in service for men shall take it up as a Man. For what is a man but the sum of his sacrifices? Here is a creature who will make none; he says to himself: "I will decline all relationships. I won't take the trouble to be a Citizen. I won't be a Husband nor a Brother nor a Son. I refuse to be anyone's Friend. Let no man call me Employer or Partner. I will wrap myself in my own personality, and give nothing of myself to others." What has he done? What is he? He is nothing, and has not a name. He has not found, but lost, himself. For to be neither Father, Son, Husband, Friend, Neighbor, Employer, nor Citizen, is to be—just nothing. You can give no description of such a being; his obituary could not be written. He is not a Man, for manhood is attained just in the relationships,—the sacrifices,—which he has declined. What we see upon the street is not a Man, but only the centre around which cluster the relationships which constitute the Man. Would you be a Man, in the fullness of its meaning? Take up the relationships of life. Give yourself, and find yourself. Freely pour out your choicest possessions, and discover that returning tides bring richer ones. Enter into the fellowship of sacrifice.

This is an old story to the thoughtful nowadays. Society has discovered, and the books are full of, the doctrine. Sacrifice is

perceived to be more than what preachers have been content to esteem it,—a pretty, mystical sentiment for the pious;—far more, a practical and beneficent law operative for all. We may say that the Individual, as a thing existing in and for himself, has ceased to be a Social Idea. On the other hand, the Individual, conceived as a personality created by sacrifice, as a being whose existence is bound up with, and dependent upon, that of others, is the Social Reality which lies at the base of the whole modern thought of society. The philosophy of Democracy has no care for the isolated Individual, but the Individual in association, serving others, and finding freedom in the service, the real Man as I have described him—he is its chief concern.

I venture to think—and this takes me to my proper subject—that in its concern for the Man, even in this high conception, the prevailing social philosophy has not yet discovered certain other things which are as truly realities as the Man, and which demand to be considered and appreciated. I conceive that we have failed to appreciate fully the organizing power of sacrifice. We do perceive that it somehow binds men together, and we do see that it bestows personality upon those who embrace it. We do *not* sufficiently appreciate the fact that at the same time, it is also creating great social Institutions, which are as truly personalities as the individuals who (as we say) compose them. I mean to say that when men associate themselves, properly and in accordance with the divine law, they erect themselves into a social unit, or order, which then, independent of them, is a being, or person, in and of itself. Let me illustrate by speaking of the largest of all the associations of men:—I mean to say that the expression “the human race” connotes something more than the total of men; it is not just a short way of referring to Brown, Robinson, Jones and Smith all at once. It stands for a thing, and I prefer to call it a being, absolute, and existing for itself. The expression “the human race” brings to my mind a concrete picture, whose character is not derived from its members, but is above, and indeed unlike, that of any member. And though I may have said that we have failed as yet fully to appreciate this, I am sure that the hint and preparation for its appreciation is in every mind. There is nothing startling or hard to believe about it, as I try to put it into words. We learned that we are not mere isolated Individuals, certainly long ago; nay, we are persuaded that we are more than an aggregation of Individuals; that we are one body. There is awakening in the world a new self-consciousness,—the self-conscious-

ness of the Race. Since civilization began, we have been conscious of each other; today there is evolving among us a consciousness of ourselves in each other, and of ourselves as sharers in the consciousness of a larger life of which we are parts. A race consciousness, a social mind, a common human spirit,—this has awakened to know, and to wonder at, itself.

This common spirit exhibits itself necessarily in manifold places and ways, and whenever men come together for permanent or temporary causes. It finds expression in all the many forms of association into which life throws men. Among these many forms, however, there are certain ones which possess so much of the race spirit, such permanence, importance and universality, that they stand by themselves as accepted social Institutions. From the societies erected by mutual sacrifices of men, three emerge which, in a quite peculiar and undeniable way, have, it must be admitted, a being and personality in themselves,—three forms of association which are entitled to be called the Social Realities. Every man is born into them; it is impossible to conceive of any time when they were not already in existence. There is no report of a period when they were not. The earliest glimpse of man shows him living in three sets of relations:

With those from whom he derives his existence, those the derivation of whose existence is the same as his own, and those who derive their existence from him;—in the Family;

With those about him, interbound with him in common interests of soil and language;—in the Nation;

With all men as his brothers, the children of One above all;—in the Church, defined as the World before God.

Men and women, I believe with all my heart that the holding up of these three things as the divine realities in the world; that the proclamation, as of the will of God, that men should take them up and live their lives in their service alone; I do believe that the hunting down and destroying of all human devices which are contrary to them, will be the salvation of the world. This is what I meant when I was constrained to say in beginning, that the work of the apostles of the kingdom of redeemed Society is the study and interpretation of the social order which from the dawn of history has been, and has been steadily and increasingly realizing itself. The law of Society is not to be discovered or invented today; it was established forever in the sacrifice of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. Institutions of Society have not to

be organized by the ingenuity of reformers today; they are here among us, in power, certified to by the testimony of the centuries. I do believe in all intensity of conviction that when the vision of the Family, the Nation, and the Church, as things worthy of the highest devotion of men shall be vouchsafed us, the problems which perplex and distress us will find an answer in ceasing to ask themselves. Our day needs to rediscover the Family. It needs to be told that the club, however congenial, is not an institution of any social utility whatever, but quite likely the reverse; that the apartment house is not a social beneficence, but the reverse; that strife between men and women for employment or for political power is not contemplated by the divine order. Our day needs to be told that not Labor Unions, nor Trusts, nor Political Parties, nor Protective Associations, but that *The Nation* demands men's consecrated services. Our day needs to be persuaded of the shame of the spectacle of—in America alone—140 religious sects—I call them religious by courtesy—which, like so many hack-drivers upon the sidewalk shout out their merits and solicit fares for heaven;—of the ghastly farce of a divided, warring Church pretending to preach a gospel of unity and peace. As we shan't get around to it again, I must here relieve myself upon this subject. As Mr. Shaw sketched the attitude of the English Church toward social progress, I sat with my head bowed in humiliation and sorrow. And now, a priest of the Church in America, I confess for it the same faithlessness and failure. The divided Church in the world to-day is failing to do its work. It is miserably, pitifully, inefficient in the face of poverty and greed and crime and social uneasiness. It is better you should hear its ministers confess it, than to hear enemies charge and prove it. A man should be as ready to rebuke what he loves as to suffer for it. One who remains loyal may say much to call it to its duty. Pauperized by division,—the most absurd of economic errors—instead of being a dispenser, it is a hungry object of charity. To the world, it looks as if its chief concern were the raising of funds for its own support, and that by mountebank methods, sensational shows, indecent, and even illegal, devices. I am accustomed from time to time to report such of these things as come under my notice. Two weeks ago, in the Puritan church of the town in which I reside, the Sunday services were turned into public auctions; a lot of small pictures, paintings, were disposed of, the pastor acting as auctioneer, delivering the goods and receiving the money. It may be too much to expect religious

societies, in their ungodly strife, to remember the laws of Him whom they profess to worship, but in God's name, when they insolently defy State law and common morality, are they benefiting or cursing society? The desecration and commercialization of holy things, the conversion of religion into an article of traffic, the ruin of the souls of a large proportion of Christian ministers who are compelled to sell their consciences to their employers—these, with the loss of all that makes the worship of Our Father inspiring and meaningful, the loss of the strength which the union of the resources, intelligence and enthusiasm of an entire community gives—are some of the things, for which the idea of sectarianism, which is a denial of the reality of the Church, is responsible. Yet it is no time for despair; the vision of the Church, one and undivided, catholic and comprehensive, is abroad in the world, and is firing the souls of men.

The Family, the Nation and the Church,—they are rising before us, whom the years have initiated into the mystery of the power of sacrifice, no longer as mere names or abstractions or conveniences of thought, no longer as the *x, y, z's* of writers on social topics, but as concrete, living beings, of infinite worth and dignity. They present themselves as old forms bursting forth into new meanings which only now are men able to comprehend, as old figures glorious and vivid in new life, and apparelled in the light by which all things are transfigured, the light from the Cross, the symbol of Sacrifice, the symbol of Society.

The Family, the Nation, the Church,—they are not the creations of human wills. They are not to be enrolled among the contrivances of human ingenuity. They are not the product of the men who compose them, but conversely men are their product. So far from men determining them, in accepting or declining their places in them, men are determined by them. Apart from them, the nature of man is unfulfilled; in isolation outside any of them the destiny of man is unrealized. They have each—this is my especial contention—a real existence as things in themselves, and demand recognition as living, conscious, moral personalities. I insist on this. On no other ground can love for them be justified, and love, which refuses to give its name to affection for inanimate things, or brute beasts, when it pours itself out in the wealth of devotion which all the generations of men have lavished upon Family, Nation and Church, justifies the assertion that these are actual living personalities in the world.

What may be said of either of them, descriptive of its personality, may be said of all.

The Family knows itself as a thing in itself; consciously exults in a spirit as peculiarly its own as its name. The Nation has within itself a capacity to be and to do, to suffer and to rejoice, to recollect, deliberate and hope, to recognize its purpose in history and to do battle for the achievement of that purpose; it has authority to demand and charm to win the services of men for its own magnificent sake. The Church is conscious of its own integral being, presenting as one life for the pleasure or the anger of God, and withal forever claiming His mercy for, the race, whose members draw their individual existences from its richness of life, yet without exhausting or taking from it.

The Family, the Nation and the Church are shown to be personalities by the fact that they have—or may fail to have—the personal attributes, courage, honor, faithfulness and the like. They have each a character as distinct as, and quite unlike, that of the men within them. The name “the Tudors” brings to our minds a character as distinct as that of any Henry of the line; “the Bourbons” as that of any Louis; “the Hapsburgs” as that of any Rudolph of them. Rome has her character as distinct as that of Julius; Greece as that of Pericles; America as that of Washington or Lincoln. The Church has a character as personally her own, as distinct, clear and consistent, as that of St. Paul, St. John, Laurentius, Hildebrand or Laud. And with this, their own large personal spirit, they invest those who participate in them. God pity the man who does not bear a name that wraps him in the dignity of a family spirit, and joins him to the generations of his fathers. God pity the man who cannot claim some such designation as that of Englishman or American, which gives him share in national victories, and in a national vocation, which in widening purpose through the ages, brings to one end the unnumbered deeds of unnumbered men,—and him who has no sense of membership in the historic glories of the Church, and in its approaching consummation.

These three Institutions are not constituted by present members, but by all who have been, are, and shall be, of them; they reach backward to the fathers, and onward to the unborn. They transcend each the achievements of any single age. Thus in each, at every moment there is blended, in the matchless fullness of its life, the experience of age, the strength of manhood, and the fervor of youth. The Family, the Nation and the

Church—they are greater than the sweep of the ages; they are more real than time itself.

And observe the beautiful inter-relation which exists between them. As the Individual finds his place within them, so they find their places within each other. Its Families are the Nation's truest wealth; they are its flesh and bone. In furnishing its members, as well as in the work of education and discipline, no other conceivable institution could take the place of the Family. In civil affairs, it should never be forgotten that the head of the household votes as its representative; in war, he does not go alone upon the field, but in his arm is the strength of wife's love and of children's innocence.

And it is by virtue of one's membership in a Family that he gains membership in the Church. Birth into a human Family is a birth-right into the Church. In his own household, the Father is Priest. He absolves, with the authority of a Priest, his repentant children. He blesses and breaks daily the bread of a Holy Communion.

And again, the unit in the Church is the Nation. Name over the ecclesiastical institutions which have been, and are, powerful, and you name institutions which are described nationally:—the English Church, the Roman Church, the Greek Church. I am familiar with the charm of that notion which exalts our common humanity above national distinctions, and with that conception of the Church which regards it as a leveler and destroyer of such distinctions, but I hold it a better conception which desires the Church to unite the Nations even in their distinctness and individuality, rather than to reduce them to a false catholicity which would be but a vain and barren uniformity.

The Families of the earth taking their places in the Nation and again in the Church; the Families and the Nations again in the Church; and in them all the Individuals, finding a higher life in the associations which they afford, a life wherein service is forever being translated into perfect freedom: such, I conceive, is the divine order in the obedience of which human society will be like that music with which Palestrina, Lucca Marenzio and Bach delight us, wherein the individual notes of melodies intertwined run on, rejoicing in the embrace of accompanying chords, diverse and grand, in which alone the significance of the solitary tones comes out, and which fashions all their caprice and waywardness into a glory of harmony, rich and complete and full.

I know how incomplete this, which could be but a mere sketch, is, and how dogmatic it must appear. I cannot hope now to remedy either

of those faults. But I should be glad if, in what time more I dare ask, I could answer the question I know is in your minds: "What does it all amount to? Suppose, for instance, the Nation is,—not, as we have thought it, a convenient Idea, but a Reality, a breathing Person, as you say—what of it? Is an academic distinction to save us?"

I answer that the selection of realities in a world where false notions clamor their worth louder than true ones, is more than an academic, is a saving distinction. This is a world of realities, and we must become acquainted with them, and able to see the real character of the illusions which costume themselves in the garb of realities, and turn Society upside down. Let us, then, take one of these Institutions we have talked of; let us take the Nation, and measuring against it some prevalent social ideas,—such as those of the Political Party, the Mob, and so forth,—inquire whether they also are realities, or remain ideas, and dangerous ones at that.

Does not the proposition that the Nation is the reality carry the implication that no part of the Nation alone is? Neither the head, the hands, nor the feet alone can be the body. It was this doctrine (if you please so to call it) to which you are listening to-night; it was the vision of the Republic in her personality which has saved this Nation from destruction at the hands of Confederacy, not once, but in all those contests which marked the first century of our political history. The fathers tried to found this government upon the conception imported from France, that a Nation was the creation of a contract. They styled it a Confederation. In ten years, by grace of God, they rose a point, but it has taken a hundred to put upon the Constitution an interpretation competent to make it the worthy corner-stone of a people's existence. The crime of Confederacy is simply that it denies this enthusiastic doctrine I am preaching. It assumes Society to be artificial, formed by partnerships; it views the Nation as a temporary expedient. It is a very sane and cold-blooded conception; it calls for no effort of the imagination. I pause to remark that it is one of the astonishments of history that it should ever have been espoused in this country by the imaginative South; I venture the prediction that now she has been revealed to it in the power and beauty of her unity, the South will surpass us in devotion to the beloved Republic. It is an eminently sane conception, but the divine wrath has been upon it in every age of human history. I need not speak of Greece, enslaved when she exchanged the national idea for the confederate idea, nor of Germany, in whom after long years of hu-

miliation, the national spirit has awakened to slay that of Confederacy. The supreme trial between them was in our midst, and the judgment, we are all persuaded, came forth from Him with whom are the issues of conflicts. Nor could it have been otherwise. Armies far mightier, and men braver (though I think that could not have been possible) could not have been victorious against the Nation. A Confederacy is a phantom; it does not exist; it professes to be no more than a convenient fiction. Arms in its service have no consecration like that of those vowed to the defence of a life—a national life—and must ever be unanointed with the secret power of victory.

Then, if we are persuaded of the righteousness of this judgment, if we are able to see that through years of civil strife and at last of war, the divine hand has been advancing the evolution of our conception of the Republic,—let us embrace the high result. Has it ever been more needful than it is now, to insist upon the reality of the Nation? Than now in the days of the Mob? An hour has come which is testing whether order and unity shall prevail in Society, or whether its Individuals, seceding from their places in the Nation, shall join for private gains, for ends to the advantage of a part of Society only. A Mob need not be a violent crowd. Any aggregation of men, which being but part of the Nation, fancies itself the whole, is a Mob. The lords of the Empire who boasted in their chateaux, "We are France," were no less a Mob than the wretched populace that presently drove them out. There are Mobs of culture, as well as of ignorance; of elegance, as well as of violence. The cliques of Fashion, Poverty, Education, Art, Religion, Capital and Labor alike are Mobs. Not but that there is a reasonable degree to which like tastes and employments may justify association for pleasure or profit. But when a religious order, or an art ring, or a circle of special refinement, or a lot of coal miners,—when one or the other parties in the world of industry,—begins to imagine itself to be Society, it becomes a Mob which Society must crush.

I must say this with special emphasis to one class, whose representatives are here to-night:—to workingmen. Workingmen alone do not constitute Society. Neither, of course, do employers. Workingmen and employers are simply two elements in Society, and Society is greater than either, is greater than both of them together. Workingmen have of late committed the mistake of assuming that they are Society, or so nearly all of it that the rest is bound to submit to any measures "Labor" may demand. Now, the sympathies of Society are disposed to favor the claims of Labor,

but this disposition must not be overtaxed; Society will never submit to be governed by workingmen as such, any more than by any other class. The domineering course of some Labor Unions has alienated a sympathy which should have been cultivated, and the lawless defiance of Society which has attended so many labor agitations has brought the Unions into disrepute. There is no just ground upon which workingmen can claim the right to interrupt the business of the whole country, or throw whole communities into what is practically a state of war. When they do this, they become rebels against the Nation, and its power must be asserted against them. I am thankful to be able to state that it is my belief that a majority of Labor Unions do cherish the highest conception of the national life, and are banded together to serve not alone their own interests, but those of Society as a whole, in whose elevation they themselves will rise.

What of the Mob on the other side? Workingmen, if you knew, as I happen to know, employers of labor, and men of large wealth, whose hearts are being broken and ground for you, in the grasp of a system from which neither they nor you know how to escape; if you knew that there are men among them, whom you despise, who are heroically but in bitterness of soul bearing upon their own hearts vicariously your wrongs and your sorrow—you would hesitate, as I do, to characterize them as a Mob. Yet that they are that, and fancy they must be that, is their mistake and their sin. They have not perceived the unity of men. They have not realized that their interests are one with those of their employes; that industry can prosper only when its prosperity is an object to both; that they are but one factor in the life of the Nation, and that their well-being subsists alone in its peace and content. We have in New England employers who seem deliberately to forget this. One of them a few months ago referring to his operatives, called them "cattle." We have great mill syndicates who let to their workmen for homes, traps in which it would be a scandal to house a dog, and who manifest every sign that they have actually ceased to esteem them human beings. We have in certain pest-spots there, a Mob of capital which has no conception of anything but itself, which renders those who come under its influence unable to divest themselves of the hypnotic horror of its presence, and which, posing as the whole of Society, curses whole cities, with their churches, subsidizing ministers, and damning by wholesale the souls of its victims. You detect in the inoffensive gentleness of that sentence the

result of some months hard schooling at the hands of one or two such Mobs; I am learning discretion in the use of words. The Nation can no more afford to tolerate such Mobs than it can afford to tolerate armed rioters who openly kill and burn, and subvert order.

If I have used New England to illustrate the vice of the Mob idea in one of its phases, I may use it to illustrate the virtue of the true social idea in another. We there are conspicuously free—observe my characteristic Yankee modesty—from one of the most serious and fatal exhibitions of the Mob spirit,—the snobbery of education and culture. There is among us no sentiment that culture and appreciation of art should, or need, be the privilege of the few. We believe in the divine appointment of art as a ministry for the elevation of men, and we are so sure of the practical nature of its ministry that we spend large sums of money to put classic bits of sculpture into the public schools, and things of beauty before the people. So thorough has been this work that the city of Boston now is able to erect a Public Library of a design whose severe but affecting chastity would have evoked the enthusiastic admiration of a few anywhere, but would hardly have been accepted by the populace of any other American city. The City of Boston has cause to be sincerely grateful to God. For nothing can be more disastrous than the separation in taste of the few from the many, than the evolution, on the one hand, of a Mob of unwashed despisers of the beautiful, and, on the other, a Mob of cultured Pharisees, walking with patrician robes folded about them in isolated and selfish patronage of the arts which were meant for the uniting of men in the contemplation and service of Beauty. When we think of Greece, we think of an entire people united, organized and living, as a Nation, the life of devotion to the Beautiful.

These cases will serve to illustrate how the Mob idea conflicts with the conception of the Nation as a living reality. One of the higher forms of the Mob may require a word by itself,—the Political Party.

It was most refreshing, was it not, to hear from Mr. Shaw that old party lines were breaking up in England. Once in a while we tell each other that it is so here, but we know better. The idea of the Political Party is the social idea which has most thoroughly imposed upon us here in America. Devotion to one or the other of the political organizations is instilled in our earliest consciousness; or not so much devotion to one as hatred of the other. Every man of us was dragged to some political shrine, and sworn to eternal enmity of the fellows his father didn't like.

Most of you here, I doubt not, were taught in your earliest catechism, as I was in mine, that the chief end of man was to vote the Republican ticket. I have gathered that in Philadelphia it is still a matter of debate among the youth whether the Democratic party opposes things because they are right, or whether things are right because the Democratic party opposes them. And in cities of the other political complexion, there is a most pathetic and complete hopelessness regarding the personal character of the Republican party. We are largely sincere in our suspicion of each other; but aside from that, I will not say we habitually lie about each other, but certainly the habit of veracity has not become fixed.

It is not necessary to enter upon a discussion as to the need of Political Parties. It may be that the citizens could find no better device for certain ends. But it is necessary to assert that a Political Party has no real existence. It is a changing, indefinite, nebulous thing, given a name for convenience's sake. It has no logical continuity; what it seems to be to-day is no index of what it will be to-morrow. You can't locate it. You can't find it to punish or reward, if you try. It is absurd to talk of doing so. It is entirely impossible to hold a Party to responsibility. Have you ever tried to do so? How did you succeed? In Philadelphia? You succeeded just as well as good citizens succeed anywhere in trying to punish a Party. They may cut off a few heads, but the Party is untouched. Pretending to be a reality, it is the greatest humbug we as a people have ever embraced. It is the silliest and hugest delusion of our political history. Devotion to Political Parties is our national idolatry.

We have created a philosophy to support our idolatry. Professor Alexander Johnston wrote an admirable book in support of the illusion that there have always been in this country two Parties, one strictly and one liberally interpreting the Constitution. It was one of those plausible absurdities which win quick hold on the college orator, and a dozen years ago, Commencement platforms rang with its proclamation made in strident and convincing voices.

The most elementary facts of our history, however, laugh at the theory. Professor Frost dealt it its death blow, when he demonstrated that every foot of territory outside of the original colonies, has been added to the national domain by the Democratic Party, which, according to the theory, being a Party of strict constructionists, ought to oppose extension of territory. Unfortunately a theory never knows when its brains are out, and it is to be feared that this is yet among us. The

truth is that a dozen Parties have been destroyed during the history of the Government, and the Nation has been the better for it in every case.

A Party is not a thing which has any rights for its own sake. It has not even the inherent right to be. A Party is not a thing to which a citizen can be under any obligations. A man can owe no party debts. The obligations of a citizen are to his Country, not to his Party. When his Party serves the national good, the citizen may serve his Party for the sake of the national good. When a thing is proposed to be done for the sake of the Party,—that is reason enough for not doing it. Neither is a Party a thing which can owe a debt. It is under no obligation to nominate a hack or favorite, because he has served it. He had no business to serve it, and especially no business to serve it for the sake of a future nomination. If a man has served his Country, his Country should reward him—not necessarily with office; office is not a reward, but a demand for further service, but with the seemly honors and privileges which a people may bestow. When the Nation shall understand her reality, we shall cease to hear that a Republic is ungrateful.

Not only is it true that a Political Party never has any real existence, but at the present time there is nothing in the political horizon which seems to merit being called a Party. A Political Party implies a political policy. A Party organization without any principle for the advocacy of which it exists, is in no proper sense a Political Party. When a Party does exist as the embodiment of a principle, it may reasonably be expected to announce that principle, and to defend it. On what question, of finance, revenue, currency or international relations, is either "Party" ready to plainly state its position and to agree to accept results upon it? When a political question divides the Nation it may reasonably be expected to gather the friends of a given measure into one Party, and the foes of that measure into another. There is not to-day in the field of American politics a single question on which a man may not take either side, and with equal consistency, belong to either Party. When a Party does exist as the embodiment of a principle, the success of that Party at the polls may reasonably be expected to imply the triumph of that principle. It is obviously impossible for me to go into details, but I submit that we have been abundantly taught that, as Parties now exist, the advent of new administrations, either in Nation, State or City, is no assurance that the programs upon which they were supposed to be elected, will be carried out.

What is the conclusion of the whole matter? Don't expect too much of any Political Party. Don't allow any Party to expect too much of you. Use such as we have, or make new ones, and use them, in the service of your Country, remembering that to her alone belongs all your strength of arm and brain, and that to her must be sacrificed and consecrated your every political ambition.

I do not know that I have persuaded anyone to enthusiasm for the conception of the Nation as a living reality. I have tried to suggest, rather than to show, that such a conception would save us from the miseries of the war between Capital and Labor, from the unhappiness of a class uneducated and a class self-satisfied in its own culture, from our political absurdities and our inability to make our will felt in a government we call popular. That it will do all that is my own profound conviction.

In concluding, let me address myself to those from whom every one who speaks of visions has an especial hope of winning sympathy—to young men. Is it too much for the serious to hope that from such a meeting as this some among you may go out with a trumpet's call ringing in your ears—a call away from the sapping cynicism of the club, hideous with the cackle of the critics, away from the sterility of heated drawing rooms where sounds are mistaken for epigrams and cheap pessimism for wit, out into God's air, to be dowered with the burden and the glory of life, and admitted into the service of your fellow-men. Oh! how one longs to see the vast power of brain and muscle wasting in the possession of aimless people, set upon and captured by some enthusiasm! Happy indeed is the young man whose early life is filled with some worthy enthusiasm! Quite apart from anything I have said to-night, I implore you to seek a cause, a principle, a thought, and to give yourself to it. And how they crowd to win your interest! The revelations of modern science—I hear them clamoring to be rescued from the crude forms in which they are held, and applied to problems in every department of life and thought. I see young men coming forward to re-state the doctrine of evolution, and by its help, to interpret, one History, one Society, one Ethics, one Law, one Religion. I see others applying the doctrine of the conservation of force to political questions, to the theory of wealth, to transportation, education, the administration of the Church. I see a group of young men, possessed by the conviction that truth is many-sided, like the white light of the solar spectrum, sweeping the horizon of beliefs, opinions, and Institutions, and revealing the truth in

each, that the whole truth may glow the brighter. Oh! there are so many things waiting to be done, so many electrifying ideas, throbbing everywhere, it is pitiable to see a man possessed by none.

So many in the world of practical activities. Here in America, so many wrongs to be righted, so many public crimes to be hunted down and punished, so many breaches to be guarded, so many merits to be recognized and rewarded, so much poverty to relieve, so much ignorance to teach! Who knoweth but thou art come into the kingdom for such a time as this! Let the flame of enthusiasm or of indignation kindled by some chance word or event, let it burn, let it warm you, let it make you great!

And is not this that I plead for above them all? Are they not all parts of it? The cause of the Nation, I beg you to make it yours, with vows unspoken but infinite in their sincerity. Be not ashamed to be possessed by a passion of devotion to the Republic. "The Republic"—does the word mean anything to you? Can you see before you that for which it stands, as in the Columbian year we saw her symbolized in a figure of vast golden height, bathed in the glory of the west?—only unlike that, because living, breathing, smiling, weeping, exulting.

When Abraham Lincoln, about to be inaugurated President, took the train at Springfield, he was much what ten thousand of his countrymen were. He had no program; no brilliant solution for his country's troubles; his farewell to his home town was most commonplace. But as the train drew on its way to the threatened capital, there fell over that commonest and most unremarkable of men, the mantle of the greatness of a tremendous idea;—it was that of the Nation in its reality, unity and indivisibility. Suddenly was visible to him the Republic in her beauty imperiled. You can take the speeches that man made on his way to the inauguration, and trace in each successive one the increasing power of the vision, and the rising strength and greatness of him whom it increasingly possessed. He passes out of Illinois a greater man; at every station in Indiana he shakes a little more of the stoop out of his shoulders; in Ohio, he begins to talk like the master of himself, and the ruler of a people; and when he reaches Washington, it is to take his place in the chair of the Chief Magistracy, the strongest, the wisest, the most heroic, the most thoroughly American of all in the noble list of Presidents.

Are we distressed that a host of social illusions, more fatuous and fatal than that of Confederacy, to-day threatens the Republic?

Despair not. Is it departed, that saved us from that?—the power of the vision of the Nation, a mighty Person, real and living.

WILLIAM BAYARD HALE.

### Notes on Education in Europe.

LONDON, May 30, 1895.

From the point of view of those who believe that the higher education of citizens has become an urgent need of the modern democratic State, nothing of greater significance has recently happened in the educational movement than the discussion in the French Chamber on the proposed transformation of evening schools into evening lecture courses for the public. The *conseil supérieur de l'instruction publique* decided some time ago that the development of primary schools and the wide diffusion of the element of education through every grade of society had practically rendered the old form of night-school obsolete. The Council therefore recommended that these old night-schools should be gradually superseded by another form of instruction, at once more attractive to adult students and more fitted to their present needs. In other words, the most experienced educationalists in France have formally placed on record their agreement with the chief conviction which animates the University Extension movement. For we have always maintained that it is not only possible, but just and necessary, to give the gist of a liberal education to multitudes of busy workers who are, by the circumstances of their life and employment, shut out from the older avenues of culture. The decision of the *conseil supérieur* will give encouragement to all, whether in Europe or America, who are laboring for the higher education of the citizen.

But the encouragement does not stop here. In March, M. Prudent-Dervilliers, one of the Deputies for Paris, raised the whole question in the Chamber, and moved for a grant of 100,000 francs in order that the recommendation of the Council might be carried into effect. "What becomes of the children," he asked, "who leave our primary schools at eleven years of age? They are swallowed up in workshops, while their education is still woefully incomplete. Yet, let us remember, those are the citizens of the future. We must educate them more systematically, and if we mean to induce them to acquire more education, we must make this education attractive. We must appeal to the eye as well as to the ear; we must use, not books only, but a costlier apparatus of illustration—pictures and

lantern slides. Already this great work has been undertaken by private effort. Two associations, the *société nationale des conférences populaires* and the *société républicaine des conférences populaires* have led the way and the State ought now to come to their assistance. 'Il doit se faire l'éducateur de la jeunesse des pays, développer en elle la sociabilité; rendre les hommes meilleurs; leur faire comprendre que dans l'association seule git le grand remède qui doit guérir la malheureuse humanité des maux qui l'accablent encore.'"

There is no mistaking the ring of true feeling in the speech, of which I have given the substance. We may indeed feel unable to share the orator's sanguine hope that human misery can be removed by education alone. Other and deeper remedies must be called in to cure or to mitigate evils which have their roots deep in history and human nature. But that M. Dervilliers is right in pleading for education as one necessary ingredient in the remedy, few will feel disposed to deny. Like his colleagues in the chamber, we may greet his speech with applause.

The Minister of Public Instruction laid the duty of replying for the government on the capable shoulders of M. Buisson, the director of primary education. His address was one of the most remarkable speeches on educational affairs which have been spoken in a Parliamentary chamber for a long time. He entirely accepted M. Prudent-Dervillier's contention that we must take a step forward in the education of citizens. "We have no longer need to teach the rudiments of reading to youths of twenty years of age. What we have to do is to make them wish to read, to love reading good books, to discern good books from bad. For new ideas old words do not suffice: we must not put new wine into old bottles: a new departure is necessary. The societies which have arranged public lectures for the people have been the pioneers. They have proved that, in the provision of education for adults, the first condition of success is variety of effort, diversity of program, adaptation to the different needs of different districts. What then should the government do? It should aid these pioneers, grant them subsidies, help those who have shown that they can help themselves. These pioneer societies have done their work well—one at Havre especially has made a special point of using the lecture in popular education. But in helping these societies the State should avoid all attempt at over-regulation—that mischievous tradition which we are now attempting to correct." At the close of his speech, of which I have given a condensed summary, M. Buisson

announced that the government, though unable at present to make the large grant of 100,000 francs, would vote an allowance in aid of the societies which have already engaged in the work. At a future time, a larger subsidy would be given. The House received this promise with a renewal of the loud applause which had interspersed the whole address, and M. Prudent-Dervilliers withdrew his motion on the understanding that more would be done next year.

In view of this debate, the society at Havre, of which M. Buisson made honorable mention, has summoned a congress of societies engaged in popular education. In the announcement, which appears in the *Bulletin Administratif du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique*, of May 25, it is stated that the congress will be held at Havre on August 30, 31 and September 1. Those dates will mark the fifteenth anniversary of the *Société havraise de l'enseignement par l'aspect (projections lumineuses)*. The Minister of Public Instruction will be honorary president of the congress. Its object is to study, in a practical fashion, the best means of organizing courses of adult instruction. Every society engaged in the work of popular education is invited to send one representative. Letters should be addressed to M. Serrurier, secrétaire général de la Société pour l'enseignement par l'aspect, Havre.

Apart from its bearing on University Extension work, the most remarkable feature of this movement in French Education is the proof which is here incidentally afforded of the desire of the French government to encourage private initiative and to escape from the old routine of over-centralized administration. In fact, the relation of private enterprise to State effort in educational affairs is becoming one of the most important questions in the educational policy of Western Europe. There are many signs in Germany of a steady movement in public opinion adverse to over-regulation by the State. In England, there are indications of general agreement that the State will do wisely to avoid any attempt to crush out private effort in secondary schools. In some quarters, indeed, there is a fear lest the Secondary Education Commission should recommend an over rigid system of State control. But we shall soon see whether this fear is well grounded, as it is expected that the report of the Commission will be published in July.

At the present juncture much can be learnt by a study of the educational system of Denmark, where private enterprise and State regulation are wisely co-ordinated with the

happiest results. And, as always happens, public opinion about educational policy closely reflects economic speculation. In England, just as the stiffer notion of State monopoly in industrial and commercial enterprises are melting away to the solvent of administrative experience and searching criticism, so also are the more *Doctrinaire* schemes for educational organization giving way to more supple and practicable proposals.

We live, indeed, at a time of rapid development of educational ideals. On every side there are signs of change and of revival in educational affairs. On the surface, indeed, the chief concern of educationalists seems to be with matters of administration. But really the problems which are beginning to occupy the minds of those most intimately concerned in the education are the more fundamental questions of curriculum. Just as in America, so also with us, the influence of Herbart is beginning to tell. There is a general feeling of uneasiness about the older curriculum; a desire for something more philosophically ordered, more rationally conceived, less conventional and formalistic. The next ten or twenty years will be years of educational experiment. But experiment is impossible under a rigid and uniform code. It is impossible unless we give freedom of initiative and of practice to highly trained and trustworthy teachers. Hence comes it, that the movement in English elementary education is all in the direction of freedom, of giving liberty of self-development to individual schools. The movement is just beginning, but will soon reach significant proportions. It is marked at present by salutary reform in methods of inspection and examination. Our present minister for education, Mr. Arthur Acland, has instituted changes which, in the course of years, will work little less than a revolution in our elementary and secondary schools. The new instructions to inspectors, the new methods of assessing the grant to schools, the widening of the curriculum, the increasing prominence of manual training, the insistence on a high level of sanitary excellence in school buildings and equipment—all these should be carefully marked by those who would understand the present tendencies in English education. And every year we are becoming more conscious of the greatness of the work of the teacher and of the influence which he may enjoy, and should rightly enjoy, in the building up of the social welfare of the modern State.

The wide-spread feeling that more thought should be given to questions of examination is

illustrated by the recent publication of a new scheme of examination drawn up by a strong committee of experts for the use of county councils. The novelty of the scheme lies in the fact that its promoters, instead of merely summarizing the subjects of the examination, have set forth in detail the best method of instruction by which the pupil should be treated to independent inquiry and research. Sir Philip Magnus has acted as chairman of the committee, and Mr. H. Macan, of the Surrey County Council, as its honorary secretary. Among those who have assisted the committee are Professors Adams, Marshall Ward, Michael Foster and Henry Armstrong.

The amalgamation of the *University Extension Journal* and the *Oxford University Extension Gazette* has been finally arranged. The name of the former, as the elder of the two journals, is to be retained, and the new magazine is to appear for the first time in October next. It will represent and be under the joint control of the four English University Extension authorities,—the Oxford Delegacy, the Cambridge Syndicate, the Victoria University Extension Committee and the London University Extension Society. Such an arrangement is a striking sign of the unity of the Extension movement in our universities. Some, no doubt, will regret the loss of the separate identity of the present journals, but it is unquestionable that it will be to the advantage of University Extension in England to be represented by one official organ.

A great lacuna in our educational equipment is happily about to be filled. We have hitherto had in England no institution corresponding to the *École libre des Sciences Politiques* in Paris. Economic research and statistical inquiry have been left over much to private enterprise and individual effort, with the result that they have been too intermittent and disconnected. Work of great value has been done, notably by Mr. Charles Booth and his colleagues, but a centre of permanent organization is badly needed. The want will now be supplied by the London School of Economics and Political Science, which will be opened in October next under the direction of Mr. W. A. S. Hewins, M. A., of Pembroke College, Oxford. It will provide advanced courses of economic and commercial training and public lectures and classes on political economy, statistics, commercial law, banking and currency, finance and taxation, besides occasional courses. There will be a three years' term of study, ending with a research course. The school will publish through Messrs. Longmans, a series of monographs. It will also comprise an economic library, and an "information

department" for the assistance of English and foreign investigators. The program of courses includes lectures on "The State in Relation to Industry and Commerce," by Mr. Hewins; "The Economic Effects of Alien Immigration," by Professor W. Cunningham; "Railway Economics," by Mr. W. M. Acworth; "Commercial Geography," by Mr. H. J. Mackinder; "Commercial Law," by Mr. J. E. C. Munro; "History and Principles of Banking in England," by Professor H. S. Foxwell; "The Bank of France," by the Hon. A. G. V. Peel; "Local Taxation," by Mr. Edwin Cannan; "The English Constitution Since 1832," by Mr. Graham Wallas. It is interesting to note that this distinguished corps of leaders includes four names well known in connection with Oxford University Extension work. Placed in London, the school will have great opportunities for study and research. It is understood that Mr. Sidney Webb, chairman of the technical education board of the London County Council, has had much to do in the organization of the new undertaking, and there can be little doubt that, after a period of trial, the school will fill an important place in the system of public education. There will be nothing to prevent the London County Council from subsidizing its work, and it may even develop into the graduate school of economics in connection with the new university of London. The lectures of the school will be given in the rooms of the London Chamber of Commerce (Botolph House, Eastcheap, E. C.), and of the Society of Arts (Adelphi, W. C.), both of these societies, which have done much pioneer work for commercial education, heartily welcoming the new institution. The school year will fall into three terms of ten weeks each, and the inclusive fee for membership will be £3 per annum. Scholarship will also be awarded to students of ability.

I conclude with some odds and ends of information, affecting various grades of English education. The Prince of Wales is to be First Chancellor of the University of Wales. . . . Durham University is re-modeling its Extension work, and having been for many years the sleeping partner of Cambridge, will in future act on its own account. . . . The Science and Art Department has issued new regulations for organized science schools, requiring a certain minimum of library instruction. The cause of this change, which will affect many secondary schools, is the proved inadequacy of a purely scientific curriculum . . . . The number of elementary schools which have been "warned" during the first quarter of the present year for imperfect

equipment or defective premises is forty-one. Though there has recently been an effective enforcement of the requirements of the code in regard to sanitation, the general feeling is that the demand has been abundantly justified and has led to marked improvements. . . . The Archbishops' committee have drafted a bill throwing on the State the cost of the salaries of all teachers in elementary schools, while retaining the right of their appointment and dismissal in the hands of the local managers or school boards. For this scheme, the Irish system is quoted as a precedent. . . . The central board of the Co-operative Union have recommended Co-operative Societies to arrange University Extension lectures and to offer scholarship tenable at the Summer Meeting.

S.

#### The Pennsylvania Election Laws.

##### NUMBER FOUR.

[Continued from Page 63 of "THE CITIZEN."]

##### THE BALLOTS.

All ballots are printed and distributed at public expense. The forms and instructions are prepared by the Secretary of the Commonwealth in conformity to the requirements of the law. Copies are furnished by him to the County Commissioners, who have charge of printing the ballots and are responsible for their accuracy and their safe keeping until delivered to the election officers. Each ballot must contain the names of all candidates nominated. The names of the candidates are arranged by political groups in parallel columns, according to the vote cast at the last preceding election, the party polling the highest vote coming first. There is a column on the right hand which contains the titles of all offices to be filled at the election, with blank spaces to enable the voter to insert any name not printed on the ballot.<sup>1</sup> The name of a candidate may be inserted by writing it, or by pasting a slip with the name printed on it in the space provided. A name thus inserted does not need to be marked with a cross. The law does not permit the use of a blanket slip, or a slip covering two spaces.<sup>2</sup> A circle is placed at the head of each column, and a mark within this circle indicates a vote for the entire party group. At the right of the name of each candidate is a blank space. A mark in this space is a vote for the person opposite whose name it is placed, and for him only.

<sup>1</sup> Ballot Law of 1893.

<sup>2</sup> Little Beaver Township Election, 15 P. C. C. 81.

If a cross is put in the circle at the head of a column and opposite the name of one or more candidates in a different political group, the vote should be counted for the individual names thus marked, and for all the other candidates in the party group.<sup>3</sup>

The introduction of a modified form of the Australian ballot has re-opened certain questions that were considered as judicially settled. The general trend of the decisions, not only in Pennsylvania but in Massachusetts and New York, has been that when it is possible to discover the intention of the voter, however expressed, from the face of the ballot, his vote should be counted. The Pennsylvania courts have held with one exception,<sup>4</sup> that the directions of the law of 1893 are not mandatory but are to enable the voter to more easily express his choice.<sup>5</sup> On account of the frequent ignorance, carelessness, or dishonesty of election officers, the voter cannot exercise too great care in marking the ballot according to the directions printed on the sample ballot. For even if it can be shown that the election officers have ignorantly interpreted the law, and thrown out ballots which they ought to have received, if there is no evidence that it was fraudulently done, the court will not order a recount.<sup>6</sup>

The County Commissioners are required to send the ballots to the judges of election, so that they may be received by them on the Saturday or Monday preceding election day, or the commissioners may require the judges to call for them. In case a judge is sick, he may designate an inspector to perform this duty.<sup>5</sup>

##### THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS.

The judges, inspectors of elections, clerks and assessors meet before seven o'clock on the morning of election day.<sup>6</sup> Before entering upon their duties, they must be duly sworn or affirmed in the presence of each other to the oath required by law. This oath is to be administered by any law judge or magistrate present, and in case no such person is present, the judge shall be sworn by the minority inspector, and the inspectors in turn by the

<sup>1</sup> Louck's Case, 3 Dist. Rep. 131. Weidknecht vs. Hawk, 13 P. C. C. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Bertolet's Case, 3 Dist. Rep. 643.

<sup>3</sup> Reed vs. McArthur, 15 P. C. C. 136. Election of Common Councilmen in 20th Ward, 2 Dist. Rep. 396. Weidknecht vs. Hawk, 3 Dist. Rep. 123. Hempfield Election Case, *ibid.* 499. Louck's Case, *ibid.* 131.

<sup>4</sup> Election of Common Councilmen in 20th Ward, 2 Dist. R. 396.

<sup>5</sup> Ballot Law 1893.

<sup>6</sup> Act, 2 July, 1839, 6 P. L. 520.

judge. Certificates of these oaths must be made out by the officers sworn, and attested by the officer who administered the oath. The penalty for failure to comply with this provision is a fine not to exceed \$1000, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both.<sup>1</sup>

The ballot boxes are then opened, and the old ballots destroyed. On opening the polls, the judge publicly breaks the seals of the official ballots.<sup>2</sup>

Two lists of registered voters are in the hands of the election officers. One is called the ballot check list and the other the voting check list. The former is in charge of one of the inspectors designated by the judge; the latter is held by the judge or one of the clerks. The law is not specific as to who shall use the second list, but it is provided that the second inspector shall receive and number the ballots. Each voter's name should be checked on the ballot check list when the ballot is given him, and on the voting check list when he votes. No person whose name is not on the registry list, or whose right to vote is challenged, shall be allowed within the guard rail until he has established his right to vote. This can be done only by written affidavit, subscribed to by at least one qualified voter in the district, stating that the person whose right is questioned possesses all qualifications required by law for voting in that district.<sup>3</sup> It is the duty of the inspectors to examine the claimant under oath. His oath is conclusive as to his residence in the State, but they have the right to obtain from him full answers to all other questions, and if the answers are not satisfactory, the vote should be rejected.<sup>4</sup>

An action cannot be maintained against an inspector for refusing such a vote, except on proof of malice.<sup>5</sup> Nor can the vote of a person whose name is not upon the registry list be received without the form of proof required by the law. Such a vote is illegal when offered, even if the person offering it possesses all other legal qualifications.<sup>6</sup> The penalty for receiving such a vote without requiring the written proof in the form specified, is \$500 fine and imprisonment for one year. In case the votes of ten persons have been received in any election district without this proof, the penalty is doubled.<sup>7</sup> Actions must not be

brought against the election officers jointly but individually.<sup>1</sup>

No one shall be allowed in the voting room before the closing of the polls outside the guard rail except the peace officers, watchers and voters, not to exceed ten waiting to prepare their ballots. Not more than four voters in excess of the number of voting shelves shall be allowed inside the guard rail at any one time.<sup>2</sup> The voter upon receiving his ballot shall repair at once to the voting shelf and draw the screen.<sup>3</sup> No voter shall be allowed to occupy the voting shelf longer than three minutes in case all the shelves are occupied and some one is waiting to prepare his ballot. The ballot when given to the voter must be so folded that no printing except the caption on the back shall be visible. Before returning the ballot the voter must fold it in the same form in which he received it. If he accidentally spoils a ballot he may obtain another upon returning the first one. No one is allowed to re-enter the enclosed space after leaving it, except to aid a voter in preparing his ballot, as provided by law. No soliciting of votes is allowed within the polling place. If any person declares to the judge that by reason of any disability he desires assistance in the preparation of his ballot, he shall be allowed by the judge to select a qualified voter to aid him. He is under no obligation to state the character of his disability, nor can his declaration be overthrown by proof of its falsity. The voter is the sole judge of his own disability.<sup>4</sup> This decision was rendered under the act of 1891. The present law somewhat modifies that act by providing for punishment in case of a false statement. It is extremely doubtful, therefore, whether this decision would now stand. The aid must be given within the voting compartment, after the screen has been drawn.

When the hour for closing the polls has arrived, those inside the guard rail only shall be allowed to vote. No list or memorandum of voters shall be made in the voting room except such as are required by law. The watchers may keep their poll books and challenge lists. It is the special duty of the judge of elections to see that all provisions in regard to the conduct of elections are enforced, and that order is preserved in the room.

The criminal law, whether common or statute, is imperative with reference to the conduct of individuals. If a statute forbids

<sup>1</sup> Act, 30 Jan., 1874, § 8.

<sup>2</sup> Ballot Law 1893, § 20.

<sup>3</sup> See also Commonwealth vs. Cornelius, 8 W. N. C. 215. McDonough's Case, 15 W. N. C. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Brightly, Phila. Digest, p. 695, note.

<sup>5</sup> Commonwealth vs. Sheriff, 1 Brewster, 183.

<sup>6</sup> Duffy's Case, IV Brewster, 531.

<sup>7</sup> Act, 17 April, 1866, 3 P. L. 969.

<sup>1</sup> Commonwealth vs. Boyle, 14 P. C. C. 577.

<sup>2</sup> Ballot Law of 1893.

<sup>3</sup> Little Beaver Township Election, 15 P. C. C. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Beaver Co. Election, 12 C. C. 227.

or commands a thing to be done, all acts or omissions contrary to the prohibition or command of the statute are offences at common law, and ordinarily indictable as such. The penalties attached to violations of the election laws seem to be ample. The real difficulty is in their enforcement. The average citizen does not interest himself in this, and partly for two reasons. In the great struggle against tyranny, and for safeguards in the administration of justice which has marked the history of the English-speaking race, the dominant idea has been not so much to make the punishment of crime easy as to surround the criminal process with every possible safeguard favorable to the accused. The interest of the masses has been with the effort to protect the individual from possible injustice rather than to make easy the punishment of offenders. Even the right of a speedy trial was not in the interest of the prosecution, but of the defendant. In the second place, the average citizen does not interest himself in the prosecution of offenders, unless the offence immediately affects him, or the evil results to society are more or less immediate and apparent. Infractions of election laws are not confined to any one political party; the consequences that ensue are not immediately apparent, and for this reason are the more dangerous. It is often undoubtedly true that those most interested in election contests hesitate to prosecute offenders because they themselves are not wholly guiltless. The general attitude of politicians is that violations of the election laws are not crimes against the commonwealth of the most serious character, but are offences against the party and may be compounded by the mutual agreement of the political parties concerned. Nothing shows this more clearly than the striking of 2000 names from the assessors' lists in Philadelphia, just before the last election, by agreement between the party committees; and it was only because they could not agree in regard to a few hundred other names that the matter was taken into court, not to bring offenders to justice, but to keep either party from gaining an undue advantage.

It is the duty of every citizen who has knowledge of the violation of election laws to appear before the nearest magistrate or judge having jurisdiction and make a sworn statement of the facts. It is the duty of the judge to issue a warrant for the arrest of the person charged with the offence. It is the duty of the district attorney to bring cases to speedy trial. If the crime charged is an indictable offence it follows the same procedure as any other criminal case of the same degree.

ALBERT A. BIRD.

## From Old Authors.

### From Sir Philip Sidney.

[Sir Philip Sidney was born in 1554, and received his death wound in the fight at Zutphen, September 22, 1586. His career as courtier and soldier forms one of the most brilliant pictures in the picturesque age of Elizabeth. His chief literary work consists of his sonnets of "Astrophel and Stella," his "Arcadia," and his "Defence of Poesy." From this last named work we quote two extracts.]

#### THE POET AS CREATOR.

The Greeks called him *ποιητὴν* which name hath, as the most excellent, gone through other languages. It cometh of this word *ποιέω* which is "to make;" wherein I know not whether by luck or wisdom we Englishmen have met with the Greeks in calling him a maker. Which name how high and incomparable a title it is, I had rather were known by marking the scope of other sciences than by any partial allegation. There is no art delivered unto mankind that hath not the works of nature for his principal object, without which they could not consist, and on which they so depend as they become actors and players, as it were, of what nature will have set forth. So doth the astronomer look upon the stars, and, by that he seeth, set down what order nature hath taken therein. So do the geometrician and arithmetician in their divers sorts of quantities. So doth the musician in times tell you which by nature agree, which not. The natural philosopher thereon hath his name, and the moral philosopher standeth upon the natural virtues, vices, and passions of man; and "follow nature," saith he, "therein, and thou shalt not err." The lawyer saith what men have determined, the historian what men have done. The grammarian speaketh only of the rules of speech, and the rhetorician and logician, considering what in nature will soonest prove and persuade, thereon give artificial rules, which still are compassed within the circle of a question, according to the proposed matter. The physician weigheth the nature of man's body, and the nature of things helpful or hurtful unto it. And the metaphysic, though it be in the second or abstract notions, and therefore be counted supernatural, yet doth he, indeed, build upon the depth of nature.

Only the poet, disdaining to be tied to any such subjection, lifted up with the vigor of his own invention, doth grow, in effect, into another nature, in making things either better than nature bringeth forth, or quite anew, forms such as never were in nature, as the heroes, demi-gods, cyclops, chimeras, furies, and such like; so as he goeth hand in hand

with nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging within the zodiac of his own wit. Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapestry as divers poets have done; neither with pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet-smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may make the too-much-loved earth more lovely; her world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden.

#### LYRIC POETRY.

It is the lyric that most displeaseth, who with his tuned lyre and well-accorded voice, giveth praise, the reward of virtue, to virtuous acts; who giveth moral precepts and natural problems; who sometimes raiseth up his voice to the height of the heavens, in singing the lauds of the immortal God. Certainly I must confess my own barbarousness; I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet; and yet it is sung but by some blind crowder, with no rougher voice than rude style; which being so evil appalled in the dust and cobwebs of that uncivil age, what would it work, trimmed in the gorgeous eloquence of Pindar? In Hungary I have seen it the manner at all feasts, and other such meetings, to have songs of their ancestors' valor, which that right soldier-like nation think the chiefest kindlers of brave courage. The incomparable Lacedaemonians did not only carry that kind of music ever with them to the field, but even at home, as such songs were made, so were they all content to be singers of them; when the lusty men were to tell what they did, the old men what they had done, and the young men what they would do.

#### From Richard Hooker.

[The "Ecclesiastical Polity," by Richard Hooker (1553-1600), is the first English book that is written in a great prose style, that is to say in a style that is both dignified and serviceable. The purpose of the "Ecclesiastical Polity" was to assert the power of reason against the claims of Puritans, that truth is to be found in Revelation alone. "Hooker urged that a divine order exists, not in written revelation only, but in the moral relations, the historical development, and the social and political institutions of men. He claimed for human reason the province of determining the laws of this order, of distinguishing between what is changeable and unchangeable in them, between what is eternal and what is temporary in the Bible itself."—J. R. Green.]

#### GOD A LAW UNTO HIMSELF.

All things that are have some operation not violent or casual: neither doth anything ever begin to exercise the same without some fore-conceived end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for is not obtained

unless the work be also fit to obtain it by; for unto every end every operation will not serve. That which doth assign unto each thing the kind, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the form and measure of working, the same we term a **LAW**. So that no certain end could ever be attained unless the action whereby it is attained were regular, that is to say, made suitable, fit, and correspondent unto their end by some canon, rule, or law. Which thing doth first take place in the works even of God Himself. All things, therefore, do work after a sort, according to law; all other things according to a law whereof some superior, unto whom they are subject, is author; only the works and operations of God have Him both for their Worker and for the Law whereby they are wrought. The Being of God is a kind of Law to His working; for that Perfection which God is giveth perfection to that He doth. Those natural, necessary, and internal operations of God, the Generation of the Son, the Proceeding of the Spirit, are without the compass of my present intent, which is to touch only such operations as have their beginning and being by a voluntary purpose, wherewith God hath eternally decreed when and how they should be; which eternal decree is that we term an **ETERNAL LAW**. Dangerous it were for the feeble brain of man to wade far into the doings of the Most High, whom although to know be life and joy to make mention of His name, yet our soundest knowledge is to know that we know Him not as indeed He is, neither can know Him; and our safest eloquence concerning Him is our silence, when we confess without confession that His glory is inexplicable, His greatness above our capacity and reach. He is above, and we upon earth; therefore it behoveth our words to be wary and few. God is a law both to Himself and to all other things besides. Let no man doubt but that everything is well done, because the world is ruled by so good a Guide as transgresseth not His own law, than which nothing can be more absolute, perfect, and just. The law whereby He worketh is eternal, and therefore can have no show or color of mutability. For which cause a part of that law being opened in the promises which God hath made (because His promises are nothing else but declarations what God will do for the good of men), touching those promises the Apostle hath witnessed that God may as possibly deny Himself, and not be God, as fail to perform them. And concerning the Counsel of God, He termeth it likewise a thing unchangeable, the Counsel of God and that Law of God, whereof now we speak, being one. Nor is the freedom of the will of God any whit abated, let, or hindered by means

of this, because the imposition of this law upon Himself is His own free and voluntary act. This law, therefore, we may name eternal, being *that order which God before all ages hath set down with Himself, for Himself to do all things by.*

### From George Wither.

[George Wither (1588-1667) is an example of the man of letters whose genius suffers when he comes into closer contact with political life. His book "Juvenilia," written while he was young, contains some rare poetry such as was never equaled in his later verse. His most famous poem is "The Author's Resolution":

Shall I, wasting in despair  
Die, because a woman's fair?  
Or make pale my cheeks with care  
Cause another's rosie are?  
Be she fairer than the day  
Or the flowery meads in May,  
If she think not well of me,  
What care I how fair she be.

This poem is so well known that it seems useless to reproduce it. In its stead we select a poem from the volume called "Hallelujah."<sup>17</sup>]

### WHEN WE ARE UPON THE SEAS.

On those great waters now I am,  
Of which I have been told,  
That whosoever thither came  
Should wonders there behold.  
In this unsteady place of fear,  
Be present, Lord, with me;  
For in these depths of water here  
I depths of danger see.  
  
A stirring courser now I sit,  
A headstrong steed I ride.  
That champs and foams upon the bit  
Which curbs his lofty pride.  
The softest whistling of the winds  
Doth make him gallop fast;  
And as their breath increased he finds  
The more he maketh haste.  
  
Take Thou, oh Lord ! the reins in hand,  
Assume our Master's room;  
Vouchsafe Thou at our helm to stand,  
And pilot to become.  
Trim Thou the sails, and let good speed  
Accompany our haste;  
Sound Thou the channels at our need,  
And anchor for us cast.  
  
A fit and favorable wind  
To further us provide;  
And let it wait on us behind,  
Or lackey by our side  
From sudden gusts, from storms, from sands,  
And from the raging wave;  
From shallows, rocks, and pirates' hands,  
Men, goods, and vessel save.  
  
Preserve us from the wants, the fear,  
And sickness of the seas;  
But chiefly from our sins, which are  
A danger worse than these.  
Lord ! let us also safe arrive  
Where we desire to be;  
And for Thy mercies let us give  
Due thanks and praise to Thee.

### Books.

**HONEST MONEY.** By Arthur Fonda. New York: MacMillan & Co. 207 pp. 1895.

**MONETARY SYSTEMS OF THE WORLD.** A study of present currency systems and statistical information relative to the volume of the world's money. Maurice L. Muhleman, Deputy Assistant Treasurer United States. New York: Charles H. Nicoll. 198 pp. 1895.

Mr. Fonda's book is a calm and rather thoughtful attempt to find something that will do the work of money better than anything that has yet been tried, something better than either monometalism or bimetallism. He finds it in what is known to the economist as the multiple standard. The best part of his book is that which leads up to his concept of honest money. This constitutes three-fourths of the volume. In the last fifty pages the author attempts to show that his scheme for honest money is a practical one and should be adopted. It is here that many students of money, although they may approve his scheme as a theory, will part company with him.

Money which fluctuates in value is dishonest. If it appreciates, the debtor is unjustly burdened; if it depreciates, the creditor is cheated. The essence of honest money, therefore, is stability; there must be neither increase nor decrease in its general purchasing power; a general rise or decline of prices must be impossible. The world has never had such money. The leading economists have, as a rule, recognized its advantages, and have admitted that it would prove of great benefit to the human race, but they have held that schemes to realize it are impracticable, and that the best money possible under present conditions is obtained by the use of the precious metals.

Mr. Fonda bases his argument on the demand and supply theory of money, which he very clearly sets forth in the first two chapters. In the next five chapters he describes existing monetary systems, allotting one chapter to the compromise system that circumstances have forced upon the United States, and shows by a comparison of the tables of Soetebeek, Sauerbeck and Falkner how the value of gold and silver have fluctuated since 1840, coming to the conclusion that silver is quite as variable as gold and, therefore, that a free coinage act would not work any improvement in our present system. This portion of Mr. Fonda's book is excellent. As an elementary

and popular presentation of the subject of money, particularly for a person wishing to understand the real issue now threatening to split political parties in this country, the first 150 pages of "Honest Money" can be recommended without reservation. Mr. Fonda is reasonable and impartial in his discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the single gold standard, and he gives a dispassionate analysis of the probable effect of a transition to the silver standard, which would "cause a great disturbance of business," while the value of silver, and therefore silver prices, would continue to fluctuate at all times.

The money which Mr. Fonda would like to have adopted is paper money, the value of which shall be regulated by governmental control of the supply. He would have a corps of statisticians first find the average price during the last five years of one hundred staple commodities, and by taking into account the relative importance of each commodity in trade arrive at an approximate estimate of the purchasing power of one dollar during these five years. Thus suppose that the dollar is found on the average to have purchased 1.25 bushels of wheat, or 3 bushels of corn, or 100 pounds of pig iron, or 10 pounds of cotton, and that the importance of these commodities in trade was 5, 3, 2 and 1 respectively, then there would have been expended \$5 for 6.25 bushels of wheat, \$3 for 9 bushels of corn, \$2 for 200 pounds of pig iron and \$1 for 10 pounds of cotton, or a total of \$11. "Considering these four commodities only," says Mr. Fonda, "the dollar as the unit and standard of value of our system would be defined by law as one-eleventh of the sum of the values of 6.26 bushels of wheat, 9 bushels of corn, 200 pounds of pig iron and 10 pounds of cotton."

Having thus got his standard, Mr. Fonda would have the government retire all our present currency, and issue in its stead uniform paper money, regulating its quantity so that the average purchasing power of the dollar shall never change. The government's corps of statisticians must always be at work in Washington, and whenever they find that average prices are either rising or falling it will be the government's duty to diminish or increase the quantity of money in circulation.

This sort of scheme for money can certainly be made attractive upon paper. Mr. Fonda should not be classed among dreamers or fiat money lunatics for advocating it. The time may some day come when we shall have statisticians and a government—including Congress—to which we can safely entrust the delicate business of controlling the supply of

money. Recent experience, however, is not encouraging. The average congressman does not understand the rudiments of the science of money, and it is doubtful if he ever will in our day and generation. It was perfectly plain, for example, two years ago, that the country was staggering under a load of convertible paper and silver currency and that the only rational plan for relief involved the retirement of some part of it—whether greenbacks or silver mattered not—yet such a proposal had almost no friend in Congress, and in many parts of the country was denounced as unpatriotic, ruinous, infamous.

In consequence, the administration was forced to adopt the only alternative, the issue of gold bonds, a policy almost as futile as pouring water into a sieve. However great the advantages of an ideal standard of value, it will hardly pay yet to begin a campaign for its adoption or to spend much time discussing necessary practical details. There is a big educational work yet to be done, and unfortunately the teachers are still at odds with one another. We must first agree what a dollar is before we try to manufacture it artificially.

There are several passages in Mr. Fonda's book which should receive his thoughtful attention should it ever come to a second edition. There is, for instance, the statement on page 133 that the failure of our law makers to provide an elastic currency, is a blunder, that amounts to a crime. Perhaps we can excuse stump speakers for talking about "crime" and "infamy" when they discuss money, but such words have no place in the sober literature of the subject. American law-makers have handled the money question about as well as those of other countries, and there is absolutely no evidence on which to base an indictment in law or in conscience. There is another sentence on page 133 which needs revision. It is the one in which credit is described as "vainly trying to do the work of money." Some readers will get from this the idea that Mr. Fonda believes that the expansion of credit is generally due to the scarcity of money. That is the doctrine of a class of writers upon money who teach that all our ills, social, industrial and financial, can be cured by an abundance of money. As a matter of fact, credit and currency usually expand together, and any inflation of the currency tends to expand rather than to restrict credit.

Mr. Muhleman does not deal in theory. His specialty is facts, and in "The Monetary Systems of the World" he has compiled a mass of most useful information for the student of money. He gives a brief history of the

monetary systems in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, describes the kinds of currencies now in use, with weights and values, and gives estimates of the volume of money in circulation. There is a brief sketch of the Latin Union, of the clearing house system, of the several international monetary conferences, of the causes of recent bond issues in this country, and of the various plans that have been proposed for the solution of our currency problem. There is need of such a monetary hand-book, and one cannot help wishing that the author had been a little less anxious to make a small book. For instance, the usefulness of the book to the student in this country would be greatly increased by charts showing the course of prices during the last half century, and by tables showing the leading facts concerning the world's money supply in 1870 and also in 1880.

JOSEPH FRENCH JOHNSON.

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